

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

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USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0017

GENEVA FOR US CSCE DELEGATION

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AHG MEETING OF MAY 27, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN ITS MAY 27 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP HEARD REPORTS ON FOUR BILATERALS. IN DISCUSSION WITH NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES), POLISH REP STRULAK ACKNOWLEDGED THE VALUE OF APPROXIMATE PARITY AS A NEGOTIATING OBJECTIVE, THOUGH HE SAID THE WP DID NOT DEFINE PARITY IN THE SAME TERMS AS WEST. STRULAK ALSO SUGGESTED THAT NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT AND THE EASTERN SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS PROPOSAL MIGHT BE DISCUSSED CONCURRENTLY. CANADIAN REP REPORTED DISCUSSION IN OTTAWA BETWEEN HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR TO CANADA AND CANADIAN OFFICIAL, WHERE HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR SAID
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THAT NO NEW INITIATIVES OR IMPORTANT DECISIONS SHOULD

BE EXPECTED FROM SOVIETS WHILE THEY ASSESS RECENT CHANGES IN WESTERN GOVERNMENTS. CANADIAN CONCLUSION WAS THAT SOVIETS ARE REVIEWING EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND ARE ENGAGED IN SERIOUS INTERNAL DEBATE OVER SITUATION IN CSCE. AHG ALSO DISCUSSED AND APPROVED TALKING POINTS FOR MAY 28 INFORMAL SESSION IN WHICH NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT WOULD AGAIN BE DISCUSSED. CHAIRMAN'S WEEKLY REPORT FOR PERIOD OF 20-26 MAY WAS APPROVED (SEPTTEL). FRG REP WILL DELIVER JUNE 6 PLENARY STATEMENT ON PHASING. END SUMMARY.

BILATERALS

2. FOUR BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WERE REPORTED. THE CANADIAN DEPREP (MORGAN) PARTICIPATED IN TWO, THE FIRST WITH THE POLISH DEPREP (JEDYNAK) ON MAY 24. ONLY SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT BY THE POLISH DEPREP ON THE NON-INCREASE FORMULATION INTRODUCED BY WESTERN REPS AT MAY 22 INFORMAL SESSION WAS TO POINT OUT THAT THERE WAS A WIDE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A NON-INCREASE FORMULA WITHIN AN OVERALL CEILING AND A NON-INCREASE FORMULA WHICH PROVIDED FOR NATIONAL CEILINGS. WHEN ASKED, THE POLISH DEPREP STATED THAT THE POLISH VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (BYZTYGA) RESPONSIBLE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS DID NOT ATTEND RECENT MEETING OF THE WP POLITICAL CONSULTIVE COMMITTEE, AND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT DISCUSSION OF MBFR AT THE PCC HAD BEEN IN THE MOST GENERAL POLITICAL TERMS. MORGAN'S SECOND BILATERAL DISCUSSION WAS WITH ROMANIAN DELEGATION'S THEIR SECRETARY (DUTA), WHO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE WESTERN NON-INCREASE FORMULA MET AT LEAST ONE SIGNIFICANT STICKING POINT FOR THE WPO'S DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND CLAIMED THAT WESTERN FORMULA MEANT THAT ALLIED DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD NOW BE ABLE TO GO A STEP FURTHER AND ACCEPT THE WPO'S SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL.

3. IN THIRD BILATERAL DISCUSSION, NETHERLANDS REP REPORTED ON MEETING WITH POLISH REP STRULAK, WHO MAINTAINED THAT EAST HAS NOT REPEAT NOT PURSUING
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STALLING TACTICS ON MBFR PENDING CSCE WRAP-UP. STRULAK ATTRIBUTED SLOWING DOWN OF MBFR TEMPO PRIMARILY TO CHANGES IN GOVERNMENTS, TO WHICH NETHERLANDS REP RESPONDED THAT ALL "GO SLOW" ACTION BY THE EAST SHOULD BE ABANDONED BECAUSE OF DANGER OF LOSING MOMENTUM. STRULAK SUGGESTED THAT WESTERN NON-INCREASE FORMULA AND EASTERN SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL SHOULD BE DISCUSSED CONCURRENTLY. NETHERLANDS

REP RESPONDED TO THE EASTERN ASSERTION, REITERATED BY STRULAK, THAT THE WEST HAD MADE THE COMMON CEILING A PRECONDITION, BY POINTING OUT THAT THE SAME MIGHT BE SAID OF THE EASTERN INSISTENCE THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET. STRULAK ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ALTHOUGH PERCEPTIONS MIGHT DEFFER BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AS TO THE MEANING OF PARITY, "APPROXIMATE PARITY" MIGHT BE AN ACCEPTABLE NEGOTIATING OUTCOME, TO WHICH NETHERLANDS REP RESPONDED THAT THE QUESTION THEREFORE BECAME A PRACTICAL MATTER, AS OPPOSED TO A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE.

4. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) COMPLETED REPORTS ON BILATERALS BY QUOTING FROM A CABLED REPORT FROM OTTAWA OF A MAY 22 CALL BY THE HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR TO CANADA (BARTHA) ON CANADIAN ASSISTANT UNDERSECRETARY JOHN HALSTEAD DURING WHICH BARTHA OPINED THAT THE MANY RECENT CHANGES IN GOVERNMENTS WOULD PROBABLY NOT LEAD TO CHANGES IN EAST-WEST FOREIGN POLICY, BECAUSE EAST-WEST DETENTE WAS PURSUED FOR OBJECTIVE, AND NOT PARTY REASONS. HE ALSO SAID THAT SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WOULD TAKE A "WAIT AND SEE" ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WEST TO SEE WHAT TACK THE NEW WESTERN LEADERS WOULD TAKE, AND THAT HE THEREFORE FORESAW NO IMPORTANT NEW SOVIET INITIATIVES IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS AT THIS TIME. REGARDING CSCE, THE SOVIETS WOULD MAKE NO FURTHER CONCESSIONS IN BASKET III. YET, AT THE SAME TIME, HE SAID IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS TO ADJOURN OR DRAG OUT CSCE. HALSTEAD'S REPORTED CONCLUSION WAS THAT THE SOVIETS WERE INVOLVED IN SERIOUS INTERNAL DEBATE OVER CSCE.

TALKING POINTS FOR MAY 28 INFORMAL SESSION

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5. US REP DISTRIBUTED DRAFTS OF TALKING POINTS

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0017

GENEVA FOR US CSCE DELEGATION

AND CONTINGENCY QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOR THE INFORMAL SESSION ON MAY 28. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE TALKING POINTS WAS TO GET THE DISCUSSIONS BACK TO THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET AND TO AVOID EXPANSION OF THE DISCUSSION INTO OTHER AREAS AS THE EAST HAD DISCUSSED AT THE MAY 22 INFORMAL. TO DO THIS, HE SAID THE ALLIES SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE EAST THAT EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE COMMON CEILING IS NOT A PRECONDITION TO TENTATIVE AGREEMENT ON PHASING, ALTHOUGH AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF ALLIED POSITION. US REP ALSO EXPLAINED THAT THE TALKING POINTS INCLUDED ARGUMENTS AGAINST SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS TO COVER THE CONTINGENCY THAT THE EAST WILL MAKE THE ARGUMENT THAT THE NON-INCREASE COMMIT-

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MENT IS THE FUNCTIONAL EQUIVALENT OF SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS AND THAT THEREFORE THE ALLIES SHOULD BE ABLE TO ACCEPT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL FOR SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS.

6. THE NETHERLANDS REP SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD ALSO ANTICIPATE THE SUGGESTION PUT FORTH BY

STRULAK TO THE NETHERLANDS REP THAT THE NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT AND SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED CONCURRENTLY. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD EXPLORE WHETHER, BY THIS SUGGESTION, THE EAST MIGHT ACCEPT SUBSTANTIAL US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN PHASE I IF COUPLED WITH EUROPEAN SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS. US REP AGREED THAT THIS WAS A POSSIBLE EASTERN TACTIC, BUT SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIED ARGUMENTS AGAINST SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS SHOULD NOT CHANGE. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE REFERENCE TO SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS IS AMBIGUOUS--IT WOULD REFER TO PHASE I OF THE EASTERN NOVEMBER 8 PROPOSAL, OR TO THE SO-CALLED MODIFIED SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS IDEA DISCUSSED BEFORE THE EASTER RECESS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIED REPS SHOULD BE SENSITIVE TO THIS DISTINCTION TO TRY TO FIGURE OUT WHICH PROPOSAL THE EAST IS TALKING ABOUT. THEN THE ALLIES COULD DETERMINE THE BEST TACTIC IN RESPONSE.

7. THE UK REP (ROSE) AGREED IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO TRY TO CLARIFY IN THE MAY 28 INFORMAL WHICH PROPOSAL THE EAST HAD IN MIND. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE OBSERVED THAT THE POLES HAD IN SEVERAL BILATERALS HINTED AT THE IDEA OF SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS OF EUROPEAN FORCES.

8. ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD TRY A REVERSE TACTIC TO ANSWER THE POSSIBLE EASTERN ARGUMENT THAT IF THE ALLIES ARE PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE A NON-INCREASE, THEY SHOULD ACCEPT SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS. THE ANSWER SHOULD BE THAT THE ALLIES DON'T CONSIDER THE NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT AND SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS THE SAME THING, BUT THAT IF THE EAST DOES CONSIDER THEM FUNCTIONALLY EQUIVALENT, THEN THE EAST SHOULD BE SATISFIED WITH THE
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NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT. THE US REP NOTED THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF THAT ARGUMENT WAS COVERED IN THE TALKING POINTS, BUT AGREED THAT THE POINT COULD BE TAKEN UP IN TALKING POINTS. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION OF EDITORIAL CHANGES, THE AHG APPROVED THE TALKING POINTS.

9. THE CHAIRMAN SUGGESTED, AND THE GROUP AGREED, THAT THE PARTICIPANTS FOR THE MAY 28 INFORMAL SHOULD BE THE US REP AND DEPREP, THE FRG REP (BEHRENDT) AND THE BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN).

10. THE NEXT AHG MEETING WAS SCHEDULED FOR MAY 29.
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